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THE ORIGIN OF THE GRANDEUR OF THE COURT of ROME.

By the late Abbè VERTOT.

Translated from the FRENCH,

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By the FRENCH BOOKSELLER.

THE Writings of the late Abbè *Vertot* having always been very acceptable to Perſons of Senſe and Underſtanding, I do not in the leaſt doubt but they will be pleaſed with the Publication of this. As this learned and judicious Author treats a very nice Subject in it with his uſual Impartiality, he did not think fit to publiſh it in his Life-time, but committed that Care to a Friend of his at *Paris*, from whom I procured the Manuſcript from which the preſent Edition is taken.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GRANDEUR OF THE COURT of ROME.

THE ſpiritual Power of the Keys alone, had made the Majeſty of the Holy See to be reſpected for upwards of ſeven hundred Years, when the Popes *Gregory* the Second, and *Gregory* the Third, undertook by the Intereſt of that purely ſpiritual Authority, to acquire a temporal Dominion, and to join a Part of the

The Popes for above 700 Years have only the ſpiritual Power of the Keys.

Empire to the Prieſthood. Until the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Great, the Succeſſors of Saint *Peter* had inherited only his Chains, and Perſecutions frequently ending in Martyrdom. But this Prince being come to the Empire, Perſecution ceaſed: the Number of the Faithful was ſeen to increaſe: Chriſtianity under a chriſtian Emperor ſoon became the reigning Religion: Temples were raiſed in Honour of the true God: and *Conſtantine* honoured with his Favours, the Miniſters of that God made Man, from whom he acknowledged he held his Victories and the Empire.

FROM that Time were added to a Dignity purely ſpiritual, Caſtles, Lands, Revenues, all the Glory and Honours which conſiderable Riches produce. In the mean time, they were ſtill but Honours without Power, and Riches without Dominion: and, though *Conſtantine* had ſince transferred the Seat of his Empire to *Byzantium*, which from his Name he called *Conſtantinople*; the ſovereign Authority of that Prince, and of his Succeſſors.

ſors, was no leſs abſolute for it in *Rome*, and over the reſt of *Italy*.

THE Popes at moſt were but their chief Subjects; even the Election of thoſe Pontiffs did not take place without the Conſent and Approbation of the Emperors. Thoſe Princes kept at *Rome*, and in the principal Cities of *Italy*, particular Governors, who received their Orders from a Governor General, known in Hiſtory by the illuſtrious Name of Patricius, and of Exarch; and the Authority of thoſe great Officers, who may be compared to Viceroys, was ſupported by divers Bodies of Troops, which encamped in the *Campagnia* of *Rome*, or near *Ravenna*, and which ſerved to make the Power of the Emperors reſpected; and to repulſe the Invaſion of divers barbarous Nations, which in the fifth Century had ſucceſſively invaded one Part of *Italy*,

THE *Heruli* reigned there firſt; the *Oſtrogoths* ſucceeded them; and the one and the other extended their Dominion even over

the City of *Rome*. The Popes at that Time obeyed the Kings, whether Infidels or *Arians*. *Beliſarius*, and the Eunuch *Narſes*, the Emperor *Juſtinian*'s Generals, deſtroyed the Monarchy of the *Goths*, and reſtored the Dignity of the Empire. A Court Intrigue, which does not relate to my Subject, having occaſioned the General *Narſes* to be recalled, the *Lombards*, other Barbarians, come from *Pannonia*, over run thoſe rich Provinces, and towards the End of the ſixth Century invaded that Part of *Italy*, which extends from the *Alpes* to *Tuſcany* incluſively. *Alboin* their King, after he had made himſelf Maſter of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Milan*, and moſt of the Cities on this Side the *Po*, had fixed the Seat of his Empire in *Pavia*.

THE Succeſſors of *Alboin*, as warlike and as enterprizing, thought of preſerving that growing Monarchy only by new Conqueſts. Divers Chiefs, or Dukes of that Nation, threw themſelves into the *Gaules*, and into the Dominions of *Gontran* King of *Burgundy*: they at firſt carried Fire and Sword on

on all Sides; but having been defeated by *Mummol*, *Gontran*'s General, they were obliged to make Satisfaction for their Incurſions, to deliver up the Cities of *Aoſt*, or *Aouſte*, and *Suſa*: and they were not even granted Peace and Alliance with the *French*, but on Condition of an annual Tribute of twelve thouſand gold Crowns, which was punctually paid by theirs Kings *Autharic*, or *Antharic*, or *Antharil*, and *Agilulphe*, or *Agiſulfe*, but from which thoſe Princes Succeſſors knew how to free themſelves.

THE *Lombards* repulſed in *Italy*, confined the Deſign of their Conqueſts to it. Thoſe great Provinces became the Theatre of an almoſt continual War between this Nation and the Generals of the Emperors. Beſides the Armies which the Country furniſhed to the Exarchs, and which were compoſ edof *Italians* and *Romans*; the Emperors from time to time ſent ſundry Bodies of Troops from *Greece* into *Italy*. But the *Arabs* and the *Saracens* having ſince employed all the Forces of the Empire, that Supply ceaſed: the

the *Lombards* got the upper Hand; and *Agilulphe* one of their Kings, whom we have mentioned, to render his Government leſs odious to the *Italians*, abjured the *Arian* Hereſy about the Year 593. His Succeſſors inſenſibly extended their Conqueſts to the very Gates of *Rome*: and in the eighth Century there was nothing remaining to the Emperors of the Eaſt in *Italy*, but *Rome* with its Territory, *Ravenna*, the *Pentapolis*, *Apuglia*, and *Calabria*.

THE Authority of thoſe Princes was no leſs diminiſhed in *Italy*, than the Extent of their Dominions: all felt the Diſtance of their Sovereign, and the Weakneſs of the Government. The Commanders, and the private Officers believed they had a Right to explain the Exarch's Orders, according to their Caprice, and their Intereſt: the Jealouſy of the Command kept up thoſe Diviſions; and the Fear of the *Lombards* alone kept them united in Appearance, although moſt of them were ſuſpicious of, and odious to one another.

THE

THE Popes themſelves had relaxed from that Submiſſion they owed to their Sovereign, under the Pretence that ſome of thoſe Princes favoured Errors contrary to the Doctrines, or to the Diſcipline of the Church: and although thoſe Pontiffs defended a good Cauſe, it was ſometimes with more Pride and leſs Reſpect than the indiſpenſable Duty of Subjects required of them, as we ſhall ſee briefly on Account of the Hereſy of the *Iconoclaſtes*, which gave occaſion to the Enterprizes of the Popes over the Temporalities of the Emperors.

LEO the *Iſaurian*, of an obſcure Birth, owed the Empire only to his extraordinary Valour: he had not come to it till he had paſſed through all the Degrees of the Soldiery; and for near two Years he had maintained himſelf upon the Throne by a Train of Victories and Succeſſes, which made him equally feared and reſpected by his Neighbours, and by his Subjects. In this high Degree of Power, and in this abſolute Authority, which always follows a favourable Fortune, he let himſelf

himſelf eaſily be perſuaded that he had no leſs Power in the Affairs of Religion, than over the civil and military Government: and a *Syrian* called *Bezere*, a Mahometan by Religion, and whom he had admitted into his Confidence, having repreſented to him the Worſhip wherewith the Chriſtians honoured Images, as a meer Idolatry, he ordered them to be taken away from the Churches of *Conſtantinople* by an Act of his Authority, and by main Force.

GERMAIN, Patriarch of the Imperial City, oppoſed theſe Novelties with an invincible Courage: and he was ſupported by that Part of his Clergy who hoped nothing from the Court, by the greateſt Part of the People, and particularly by the Women ſenſible of this Sort of Devotion, and who ſhewed no leſs ardent Zeal for the Defence of the Images, than if our moſt holy Myſteries had been in queſtion.

THE Court at firſt kept great Meaſures with the holy Patriarch, whoſe Learning and Piety

Piety were acknowledged even by his Enemies; and who joined to an extraordinary Modeſty, which is ſo becoming in the great Places of the Church, a compaſſionate Charity for the Poor, Manners full of Goodneſs, and an extreme Affability in regard to every one. The Emperor, to gain him, uſed at firſt Careſſes, and then came to Threats. But finding him not to be moved, they made of his Reſolution a Crime of State, (which even under the beſt Princes, is always the Crime of the Innocent, and of thoſe they have a mind to ruin.) Some Prelates entered into the Deſign out of Complaiſance to the Prince (the ſole Divinity, that Court Biſhops ſincerely adore.)

THERE was an eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly held in the Palace, but without any lawful Vocation. The Court Party prevailed in it: ſo the Error was canoniſed; the Worſhip of Images was forbid. The holy Patriarch was depoſed as a Favourer of Idolatry, and baniſhed to a Monaſtery, where he ended his Days. Some Hiſtorians even pretend, that the

the Emperor ordered him to be put to death, to take out of his way a Witneſs of his Injuſtice, and an Enemy to his Error.

THIS Prince become an Arch-Heretick without Learning; and jealous of an Opinion he did not underſtand, thought no more but of making it received in *Italy* particularly in *Rome*, and by the Pope. *Leo* ſent ſolemn Edicts to the Exarch *Paul*, by which he proſcribed the Worſhip of Images, ordered them to be effaced in all the Churches, and declared all thoſe to be Rebels who ſhould not ſubmit to thoſe Imperial Conſtitutions. But that Prince experienced of how little weight Majeſty is without Force. His Power in *Italy* was not found proportioned to the imperious Stile of his Edicts: and Pope *Gregory* the Second, who was at that time in St. *Peter*'s Chair, had Credit enough in *Rome* to hinder their Publication.

Gregory 2d and 3d under the pretence of ſupporting the Faith

THE Popes ſince the Empire of the Great *Conſtantine*, had acquired a great Eſteem in *Rome*, and in all *Italy*; not only by their Piety,

againſt the Emperor's *Icanoclaſtes*, begin to withdraw themſelves from the Obedience they owed to the Emperors.

Piety, and by the Pre-eminence of their See, but alſo by the immenſe Revenues they received from ſeveral Parts of *Chriſtendom*, and which moſt of thoſe Pontiffs employed in adorning the Churches, and in Relief of the Poor: thoſe of *Rome* and of *Italy* in particular, found an Aſylum and a ſure Help in an unbounded Charity, and which drew to the Popes the Love and Veneration of all the Citizens of *Rome*. *Gregory*, who was not ignorant of the Extent of his Power, openly oppoſed the Publication of the Emperor's Edicts: and the Duke or Governor of *Rome*, who was charged with this Commiſſion, was forced to ſtoop to a new Power, but the more formidable as it was founded upon the Defence of Religion.

LEO, accuſtomed to reign in the Eaſt with an abſolute Power, did not hear without Rage, that they had dared at *Rome* to defer the Execution of his Orders. He wrote of it to the Pope as an exaſperated Sovereign, and with Threats to have him taken up as a Rebel, and to ſend him into Baniſhment.

GREGORY

GREGORY the Second (others ſay *Gregory* the Third his Succeſſor) wrote back to him, that the Imperial Authority had its Bounds as well as the Eccleſiaſtical Power; and that as the Popes had no Juriſdiction over the Palace of the Emperors, nor the Power to confer temporal Dignities, in like manner the Princes ought not to meddle in the ſpiritual Government of the Church.

GREGORY, aſſured of the Affection of the People, takes the Liberty to repulſe the Threats of the Emperor, by other Threats; and even by injurious Contempts, he dares to treat his Sovereign as ignorant, ſtupid, and ſenſeleſs. He no more values his Power than his Capacity: In removing only four and twenty Furlongs from the City of *Rome*, ſays he, I ſhall be out of your Dominions: He adds, that though it would be glorious for him to ſacrifice his Life for the Defence of the Truth, yet he thought himſelf obliged in this Conjuncture to preſerve himſelf, for the Satisfaction of the Catholicks of the Weſt,

Weſt, who were very much diſpoſed to revenge by the Sword, the Injury he did in the Eaſt to the holy Images.

INDEED moſt of the People in the Cities of *Italy* had taken up Arms to oppoſe the Execution of the Emperor's Edicts: *Romans*, *Italians*, *Greeks*, even *Lombards*, Friends and Enemies, all had joined for the Defence of the Worſhip of Images. They publickly trampled *Leo*'s Pictures under Foot; the furious People maſſacred the Exarch of *Ravenna* in a Sedition, and the Governor of *Naples*, and his Son, periſhed on the ſame Account, and in a like Tumult. The Rebellion went ſo far, that all the People of *Italy*, Subjects of the Empire, propoſed to elect a new Emperor, and to conduct him at the Head of an Army quite to *Conſtantinople*. The Pope, not to draw on himſelf the Reproach of being the Author, or the Accomplice of this Revolt, exhorted the People in publick to preſerve the Fidelity they owed to their Sovereign; but,

at the ſame time, he took ſecret Meaſures to leave him only the Name of it.

THE *Greek* Emperors received large Tributes from *Italy*, one Part of which was employed to pay the Troops they kept for the Preſervation of their Authority, and the Defence of the Country. The Pope cunningly taking the Advantage of the general Diſcontent of the People, inſinuated to them by his Commiſſaries, that they could not in Conſcience pay Tribute to a heretick Prince, who would make uſe of it afterwards only to ſend new Troops into *Italy*, to eſtabliſh his Error there by main Force. The People were overjoyed that they could make themſelves a Merit before God of a profitable Diſobedience, and wherein they found their Intereſt. The Tributes were refuſed: the Soldier deprived of his Pay, deteſted the new Opinions which were the Cauſe of his Miſery, moſt of them deſerted, and ſeveral promiſed to ſerve the Pope againſt the Emperor.

THE cunning Pontiff, who foreſaw very well that things would not remain thus, ordered the Walls of *Rome* to be rebuilt, and, at the ſame time, ſent Money to the principal Cities of *Italy* to repair their Fortifications. His Counſels, backed by his Money, inſenſibly became abſolute Commands, and he put himſelf in a Condition to preſerve an Authority which he held indeed only from the Zeal and Affection of Rebels, but which might be turned into a lawful Sovereignty: a Project, of which Death forced him to leave the Execution to *Gregory* III. who ſucceeded him in the Year 731.

THE *Lombards* reſolved to take the Advantage of theſe Diviſions, to make themſelves Maſters, according to their antient Deſign, of all *Italy*. *Liutprand* reigned at that time over that Nation; a Prince, that Hiſtory repreſents to us, as pious a Politician, as great Captain, but who made the Reputation of his Piety ſerve to the Execu-

tion of his political Projects. So ſoon as the Emperor's Edicts appeared he did not fail to declare againſt the *Iconoclaſtes*; he did not fall ſhort of the Pope himſelf in the Averſion he openly teſtified againſt the Innovators. Moſt of the little Cities of *Romagnia*, and of the March of *Ancona* bordering on his Dominions, and ſeduced by the Demonſtrations of his Zeal, opened their Gates to him to make him a Protector againſt the Enterpriſes of *Leo*'s Officers who would take away their Images. *Liutprand* would have been glad to have introduced himſelf as eaſily, and in the ſame Manner, into *Ravenna*, the Capital of the Exarchate; but the Exarch had brought into it all the Troops he had left, ſo he was conſtrained to come to open Force, and the *Lombards* were obliged to beſiege it. The Siege was long and obſtinate by the Reſiſtance of the *Greeks* who were in the Place, and who expected a powerful Succour from *Conſtantinople*. But the King of the *Lombards* having beat the Emperor's Fleet, the Exarch

was

was forced to capitulate, and he delivered up to *Liutprand* a Place which facilitated to him the Conqueſt of *Rome*, and of the reſt of *Italy*.

Such an Enterpriſe, though done under the plauſible Pretence to defend Religion, did not fail to alarm the Pope. The Fear of falling under the Dominion of the *Lombards*, a neighbouring and imperious Nation, made him change his Conduct. In this Conjuncture, he believed it was his Intereſt to declare for the Emperor, though a Heretick, but whoſe Diſtance made his Power leſs felt: whereas, if ſuch a powerful and ſuch a cunning Prince as *Luitprand* ſhould become Maſter of *Rome*, and transfer the Seat of Empire thither, the Preſence of the Sovereign would infallibly eclipſe that growing Authority, that his Predeceſſor, by favour of the Troubles, had arrogated to himſelf over the Citizens of *Rome*, and over the other Subjects of the Empire in *Italy*.

Gregory 2d to acquire a temporal Power, endeavours alternatively to weaken that of the *Greeks*, and that of the *Lombards*.

IN this View, the Sovereign Pontiff had recourſe to *Urſin* Duke of *Venice*, to engage him to take up Arms in favour of the *Greeks*. He repreſented to him by Letter, how much the Enterpriſes and the new Conqueſts of ſuch an ambitious Neighbour as *Liutprand* ought to be ſuſpected by him: and he conjured him, in the moſt preſſing Terms, to employ his Forces, to put the City of *Ravenna* again under the lawful Dominion of its Lords, the great Emperors *Leo*, and *Conſtantine* his Son, whom he had aſſociated to the Empire.

URSIN had no need of being told of what concerned his Intereſt: he was no leſs afraid than the Pope, of the Growth of the *Lombards*, and he armed privately. The Exarch, on his Side, collected the Remains of his Troops: they joined their Forces; and *Ravenna* was inveſted and beſieged, before *Liutprand* knew that his Neighbours armed: and the *Greeks* joined to the Troops of *Urſin*, puſhed the Siege with ſo much

much Vigour, that the *Lombards* who were in the Place, and who had not as yet had Time to repair the Fortifications, were obliged to capitulate.

THUS it was that the cunning Pontiff, who could not as yet ſupport himſelf alone, managed between the two Parties. He had with pleaſure ſeen the *Lombard* declare againſt the Emperor on Account of his Hereſy: this Proceeding of *Luitprand*, ſecured him a conſiderable Succour againſt the Enterpriſes of *Leo*'s Officers. But, when he was afraid leſt thoſe ſame *Lombards*, ſo zealous for the Worſhip of Images, ſhould make themſelves Maſters of *Rome*, and of the reſt of *Italy*, he formed a League againſt them, and armed the People of *Italy* under the plauſible Pretence of intereſting himſelf as a faithful Subject in the Preſervation of his Sovereign's Dominions; though at bottom, neither he, nor his Succeſſors had any other Object but to keep up the Diviſion between the *Greeks* and the *Lombards*, and to endeavour to form to himſelf a new Dominion,

upon the Ruin of one and the other, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Liutprand was not long before he diſcovered the true Author of the Siege of *Ravenna*, and all the Artifice of the Pope's Conduct. He diſcovered at the ſame time, that this Pontiff kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the Dukes of *Spoletto* and *Benevento*, *Lombard* Lords, who had a mind to withdraw themſelves from their Sovereign's Dominion. *Gregory* covered theſe Correſpondences with the Cloak of Religion, and with the Pretence of intereſting himſelf in the Preſervation of two Dukes, who had ſignalized their Zeal for the Defence of Image-Worſhip. But *Liutprand*, who was no leſs a good Catholick than thoſe two Rebels, was not to be put off ſo: he ſaw very well, that Policy had a greater ſhare in theſe Correſpondences, than Religion; and that the Pope, to ſtop the Progreſs of his Arms, ſought only to ſtir up Troubles to him in his own Dominions. He marched immediately againſt the two Dukes: thoſe Lords, who did

did not think themſelves in a Condition to reſiſt the Force of their Sovereign, fearing to fall into his Hands, fled. It is pretended, that the Duke of *Benevento* was loſt at Sea in going to take refuge in *Greece:* but the Duke of *Spoletto* retired to *Rome*, where he found an Aſylum in the Pope's Protection.

THE King of the *Lombards*, after he had eſtabliſhed his Authority in the Cities of *Benevento* and *Spoletto*, ſent to demand the Duke of *Spoletto* of *Stephen* Governor of *Rome* for the Emperor; and, upon his Refuſal, that Prince marched directly to *Rome*; took four little Towns in his Way; ravaged the *Campagnia*, and particularly ſome Lands which belonged to the Pope; and then came and encamped in Sight of *Rome*, which he threatened with a Siege, if they did not deliver up his Rebel Subject to him.

THE Pope was very ſenſible that he had been too haſty to declare himſelf. His Authority indeed was ſuperior to that of the Governor

Governor of the City, by the Credit he had in the Minds of the People: but, this People, formidable to their own Magiſtrates in a Sedition, was not capable of ſupporting a long Siege againſt regular Troops, and warlike and diſciplined Soldiers. Succours from the Emperor were uncertain; and beſides, the Pope dreaded him no leſs than the Armies of the *Lombards*. In this Uneaſineſs, he made no Scruple to call a foreign Power into *Italy*, contrary to his Duty to his Sovereign.

CHARLES MARTEL governed the *French* Monarchy at that Time, with an abſolute Power, under the Name and the weak Reign of the laſt *Merovingians*. This Prince was the Hero of his Time: he had conquered in the Plains of *Tours* an innumerable Army of *Arabs* and *Saracens* which came from *Spain* into *France*, and which over-ran all the Provinces beyond the *Loire*.

GREGORY wrote very preſſing Letters to him, to implore his Protection againſt the

the *Lombards*; and by an Attempt which had no Example, to obtain the Succours he deſired, he offered *Charles* the Patriciate of *Rome*, and the Dignity of honorary Conſul: that is to ſay, he offered him to withdraw himſelf from the Dominion of his lawful Sovereign, to whom alone it belonged to diſpoſe of the Government of *Rome*, and to confer thoſe honourable Titles; as *Gregory* the Second himſelf had granted, as may be ſeen in the Letter that Pontiff wrote to the Emperor *Leo*, which we have mentioned. The Pope added in this Letter to *Charles*, that indeed Saint *Peter* was powerful enough of himſelf to defend his Patrimony, and to revenge himſelf of the *Lombards* his Enemies; but that this great Saint was deſirous of trying the Zeal and Affection of his Children: and he concluded with conjuring *Charles Martel* not to ſhut his Ears to his Prayers; for fear, ſaid he to him, leſt Saint *Peter* ſhould one Day ſhut the Gates of Heaven againſt him.

THIS odd Mixture of ſpiritual Motives, with Intereſts purely temporal, did not much affect the *French* Prince: beſides, he had a ſtrict Alliance with *Luitprand*, from whom he had drawn powerful Succours againſt the *Saracens*; and Hiſtory even tells us, that this Prince, as a Mark of his Eſteem for the *Lombard* King, had ſent to him before into *Italy* the young *Pepin* his Son, that he might cut his Hair (a kind of military Adoption, and which may be looked upon as the Origin of Knighthood.) Therefore *Charles* did not think proper to take part in this great Affair: he contented himſelf with ſending Ambaſſadors to the King of the *Lombards*, to pray him to ſpare ſome Lands of the Church of *Rome*, which were called the Juriſdictions, or the Halls of Saint *Peter*. *Luitprand* for his ſake, ſuſpended his Incurſions, and retired to *Pavia*, but without abandoning his Conqueſts.

THE

THE Pope, the Emperor *Leo*, and *Charles Martel*, died in the ſame Year, 741. *Zachary*, who ſucceeded *Gregory*, found a favourable Opportunity to bring the *French* into his Intereſt. *Charles Martel* had three Sons, *Carloman*, *Pepin*, and *Griffon*. That Prince before he died had divided all the Body of the Monarchy between the two eldeſt, as he had done his Patrimony. He had given to *Carloman*, though under the Title of Mayor of the Palace, *Auſtraſia*, *Suabia*, and *Thuringia*. *Pepin* under the ſame Title, had had for his Share *Neuſtria*, *Burgundy*, *Septimania*, and *Provence*. But *Griffon* had only a Kind of a petty Principality compoſed out of ſome Lands taken out of the Dominions of his two Brothers. *Carloman*, about the Year 745, touched with a Sentiment of Piety, renounced the Grandeurs of the World: and though he had Children, he delivered up to *Pepin* the Mayoralty, and the Government of the Dominions which had been truſted to him, and ſhut himſelf up in the Monaſtery of *Mount-*

Pope *Zachary* brings the *French* into his Intereſts.

Mount-Caſſini in *Italy*, where he embraced the Monaſtick Life.

GRIFFON, of a reſtleſs Spirit, having taken up Arms under the Pretence of the Inequality of his Share, loſt it by his Defeat, and was reduced to take refuge in *Bavaria*; ſo that *Pepin* reunited the whole *French* Monarchy under his Adminiſtration.

IN this high Degree of Power, he wanted only the Title of King, which a young Prince of the Race of *Clovis*, called *Childerick* the Third, ſtill bore. *Pepin* would have been glad to take away that auguſt Title from him, as he had done the Sovereign Power: but, in whatever Dependence he kept the high Nobility and the *French* Lords, he did not find them diſpoſed to violate the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to their lawful Sovereign. *Pepin*, to remove this Scruple, and to give a Colour of Juſtice, and even an Appearance of Piety, to what he undertook only out of meer Ambition, agreed to take the Pope's Advice upon it. It was

was reſolved to ſend Deputies to *Rome* in behalf of the whole *French* Nation: but, the cunning Mayor of the Palace had the Addreſs to make this Commiſſion fall only upon two of his Creatures; *Burchard*, Biſhop of *Virſbourg*, or *Wurtſbourg*; and *Fulrad*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, and Arch-Chaplain of the Palace, or, as he is elſewhere called, Arch-Prieſt of *France*.

It was the Cuſtom of that Age to conſult the Popes, not only by the Pre-eminence of their See, but alſo becauſe the Clergy of *Rome* paſſed for the moſt learned, and the beſt informed of the Laws of the Church; and becauſe in this great Affair they looked upon the Pope as the chief Caſuiſt of *Chriſtendom*. The *French* Envoys aſked *Zachary*, which he thought the moſt worthy of the Crown; whether a young Prince, buried in Obſcurity and in Effeminacy, and who wore the Crown only as a uſeleſs Weight; or his Miniſter, who without having the Title of King, was charged with all the Cares of the Government?

The

THE Pontiff, who knew *Pepin*'s Power, and the Aſſiſtance he might get from him, adjuſted his Anſwer to his own Intereſts: the Oracle explained itſelf in Favour of the moſt powerful. This Pope did more: in following the Practice of thoſe who ſeek only to extend their Power, the cunning Pontiff, inſtead of an Advice they deſired of him, gave a Permiſſion which they did not aſk him for; and ſome Hiſtorians even pretend that he uſed the word Command, and that he had commanded that *Childerick* ſhould be depoſed, and *Pepin* ſet upon the Throne: which indeed was executed afterwards; but, ſolely by Virtue of a Deliberation of the States of the Nation held at *Soiſſons*, about the Year 751, wherein *Pepin*'s Party prevailed over that of the unhappy *Childerick*.

THE new King was the firſt of our Sovereigns who added to his Inſtallation the Ceremony of his Coronation, to ſoften in the Eyes of the People what ſuch a violent Enterprize might have in it of unjuſt and odious;

ous; perhaps even to render his Perſon more reſpectable by theſe religious Ceremonies, and to ſecure it under the Cloak of Religion, from the Attempts to which moſt Uſurpers are expoſed.

In the mean Time, *Liutprand* had taken up Arms again, and followed with great Ardour the general Deſign of his Nation. The Pope, who feared leſt *Rome* ſhould fall under the Effort of his Arms, before he ſhould be able to get Succours from the *Greeks*, or from the *French*, went to wait upon the King of the *Lombards* at *Terni*; and he ſo artfully managed the Mind of that Prince, who beſides was full of Piety, that he obtained Peace from him for the Emperor's Dominions. But, under the apparent Pretence of fulfilling the Duties of a good Subject, and labouring for the Intereſts of his Sovereign, he alone reaped all the Profit of this Negociation; and he engaged *Liutprand* to give to the Church of *Rome* thoſe four Cities which he had ſeized in the laſt War, and which *Zachary* made no Scruple

to appropriate to himſelf, to his Sovereign's Prejudice.

THIS Pontiff died about the Year 752. A Prieſt named *Stephen* was put in his Place: but, having lived but two Days after his Election, as he had not been as yet crowned, moſt of the ancient Hiſtorians, according to what was practiſed in thoſe Times, have not reckoned him in the Number of the Popes. A Deacon of the *Roman* Church, alſo named *Stephen*, and Second of the Name, filled the Chair of Saint *Peter*, and reſumed the Deſigns of his Predeceſſors.

DIVERS Revolutions had happened in like manner among the *Lombards*. *Liutprand* being dead, *Hildebrand* his Nephew, and whom he had aſſociated in his Life-time to the Royalty, was acknowledged for his Succeſſor. But, he had hardly been ſeven Months upon the Throne, but the *Lombards*, diſguſted with his Government, filled his his Place by *Rachis*, Duke of *Friuli*. This Prince, to appear worthy of the Choice with

with which the Nation had honoured him, armed powerfully, and threw himſelf into the Emperor's Lands: the Succeſs of this War is not to my Subject.

I SHALL only obſerve, that this Prince ſome time after, touched with a Sentiment of Religion, and after the Example of *Carloman*, embraced the Monaſtick Life in the famous Abbey of Mount *Caſſini*. The *Lombards*, after his Abdication, decreed the Crown to *Aſtolphe* or *Aiſtulphe*, his Brother, a proud courageous Prince, full of Ambition, and whom we are going to ſee poſſeſs the Scene with *Stephen* the Second, and diſpute the Empire of *Italy* with one another: the *Lombard* with open Force, and in Arms; and the Pontiff by his Intrigues, and his Cunning, which he always covered with the Intereſt of Heaven: a Motive which he advantageouſly uſed to ſet the *French* and the *Lombards* at variance in his Favour.

ASTOLPHE employed the two firſt Years of his Reign in fixing himſelf on the

Throne; and in viewing the Forces of his Kingdom, and the Diſpoſition of his Neighbours. During that time he made a Truce of forty Years with the Republick; that is to ſay, with the Subjects of the Empire. But, as moſt Sovereigns look upon the moſt ſacred Treaties only as proviſional, the *Lombard*, informed of the Weakneſs of the Exarch *Eutichius*, fell at once, and without any Declaration of War, upon the City of *Ravenna*, which the Exarch, after a weak Reſiſtance, ſurrendered to him upon Compoſition. All the other Places of the Exarchate followed the Example of the Capital, and opened their Gates to the Victorious.

THE Pope alarmed with the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, and fearing leſt he ſhould carry his Arms quite to *Rome*, diſpatched Couriers upon Couriers to ſollicit the Emperor to ſend Succours into *Italy*, at the ſame time that the Governor of *Rome* brought in there divers Bodies of Troops, taken from the Places which ſtill acknowledged the Authority of the Empire.

ASTOLPHE,

ASTOLPHE, informed of the Meaſures taken againſt him, ſent to ſummon the Inhabitants of *Rome* to acknowledge him for their Sovereign; and to pay him for Tribute, as they did to the Exarchs, a gold Crown a Head; and he grounded his Pretenſions upon this, viz. that this City, formerly the Capital of the World, making at that time Part of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, of which he was Maſter, ought to follow his Lot, and acknowledge his Dominion: and the more readily to make the Citizens of that great City to open their Gates to him; he entered upon their Territory, ravaged the *Campagnia*, ſet fire on all ſides, and plundered the Houſes and the Caſtles, without ſparing thoſe of the Pope, which were called, as we have already ſaid, the Juriſdictions of Saint *Peter*.

THE People of *Rome* expected with Impatience ſome Succours from the *Conſtantinople* ſide. But, beſides the Diſtance, and the continual Wars the Emperor *Conſtantine*

had to ſupport againſt the *Saracens*, and the *Bulgarians*, and which did not permit him to ſend an Army ſo ſpeedily into *Italy*; he believed, that it would be ſufficient for the Majeſty of the Empire to ſend the Silentiare *John* to the King of the *Lombards*, to complain of the Breach of the Truce, and to reclaim the Exarchate with all its Dependances.

BUT, a ſimple Negotiator, and deſtitute of the neceſſary Forces to make himſelf heard, had no Succeſs. The *Lombard*, to amuſe the Emperor and the Inhabitants of *Rome*, contented himſelf with ſending an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; and, at the ſame time, he kept *Rome* cloſely blocked up, in hopes of making himſelf Maſter of it by Scarcity, and want of Proviſions.

THE Pope, who was afraid of falling under his Dominion, reſumed the ancient Views of his Predeceſſors, and reſolved to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. He flattered himſelf with driving the *Lombards*, by

by their Arms, out of the Territory of *Rome*, and even of the Exarchate, without fearing leſt that Nation might think of eſtabliſhing themſelves in a Region ſo diſtant from their Country, and in a Quarter ſituated between Provinces which obeyed the *Greek* Emperor, or the King of the *Lombards*. But, as he feared leſt the principal Citizens of *Rome* ſhould be averſe to the calling in a foreign Power without the Conſent of their Sovereign, he had recourſe to the great Spring of Religion, ſo capable to determine Men, and which the People particularly never reſiſt.

He ordered publick Prayers to implore the Aſſiſtance of Heaven. Afterwards ſolemn Proceſſions were made, wherein they carried the Relicks, and the Images of the Saints, and all that juſtly excites the Veneration of the Faithful. They had even faſtened to the Croſs the Treaty of Peace that the *Lombard* had broke, as it were to demand Juſtice of God for the Breach of his Word.

THE Pope, followed by all the *Roman* Clergy, appeared in this Proceſſion bare-footed, and with their Heads covered with Aſhes. He afterwards went up into the Pulpit, and in a pathetick Diſcourſe, and interrupted from time to time with Sobs and Tears, he repreſented to the Multitude, with which he was ſurrounded, the miſerable State of *Italy*, the Impotence, and the Diſtance of the *Greek* Emperors, the Ambition, and the Savageneſs of the *Lombards*, and particularly the Danger the City of *Rome* was in of falling under their Dominion. He exaggerated the Misfortunes and the dreadful Conſequences of a City carried by force of Arms, the Men put to the Sword, the Prieſts murdered at the Foot of the Altars, the Chaſtity of the Wives and Maidens expoſed to the Brutality of the Soldier; and the furious *Lombards* carrying Fire and Sword on all Sides, and renewing the ſad Remembrance of the Cruelties of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

THE

THE whole Aſſembly did not hear this ſo moving Diſcourſe without Groans mixed with Tears. The Pope ſeeing them moved, and as it were tranſported with Grief, cried out, as if he had been inſpired at once from Heaven: That it was the Will of God that the *Romans* ſhould addreſs themſelves to *Pepin*, the Son of an illuſtrious Father, and who by his Conſideration only had formerly delivered *Rome* from the Arms of King *Luitprand*. Every body applauded this Propoſition: and the Pontiff made his political Projects to be received as a Revelation, which proceeded only from a Deſire to free himſelf from all Dominion of the temporal Princes.

Pope *Stephen* calls *Pepin* into *Italy* to pull down the Power of the *Lombards*.

In this view he ſent a Deputy into *France*, charged with a Letter for King *Pepin*, full of moving and lively Expreſſions, and wherein he exhorted him to deliver *Rome* from the Tyranny of the *Lombards*. He conjured him by the ſame Letter, to ſend Ambaſſadors to him, by whoſe favour he might go into *France*, to acquaint him himſelf with

with the State *Italy* was then in. We have a Letter from the ſame Pontiff, addreſſed to the *French* Lords, to conjure them to be favourable to him with the King; that is to ſay, to engage him to take up Arms againſt the *Lombards:* and he promiſed them, that, by the Interceſſion of Saint *Peter*, whoſe Cauſe, ſaith he, is in queſtion, their Sins ſhould be blotted out, and that, as a Reward for their good Offices, they ſhould obtain an hundred Fold in this World, and Life eternal in the other.

PEPIN, at his Requeſt, ſent *Chrodegand* Biſhop of *Mets*, and the Duke *Auctaire* into *Italy*. Theſe two Envoys ſaw *Aſtolphe* firſt, whom they prayed from the King their Maſter to grant a Suſpenſion of Arms; and that during that kind of Truce, the Pope and the principal Citizens of *Rome* ſhould go to *Pavia*, amicably to put an End to their Differences.

ASTOLPHE, who did not care to draw the *French* Arms into his Dominions, ordered

ordered the Blockade to be levied from before *Rome*; and out of Reſpect to *Pepin*, he conſented to an Interview with the Pope. The *French* Envoys went afterwards to *Rome*, and they there met with an Officer from the Emperor, who had brought an Order in writing * from that Prince addreſſed to the Pope, whereby he commanded him to go with that Officer to the Court of the King of the *Lombards*, to demand of him again the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis*.

THIS Order from the Sovereign being found conformable with the ſecret Views of the Pope, he departed from *Rome* with that Envoy from the Emperor, and thoſe of the King of *France*. When he was near *Pavia*, *Aſtolphe* ſent to tell him, that in the Audience he ſhould give him, he muſt not be ſo bold as to ſpeak to him to ſurrender *Ravenna*, the Exarchate and the other Places of the Empire. But, *Stephen* anſwered with great Reſolution, that no Fear ſhould hinder him from exhorting him to render to every one

* Regiam Juſſionem.

one what belonged to him. The Envoy from the Emperor, being arrived at *Pavia*, made lively Inſtances for this Reſtitution: he even offered conſiderable Sums by way of Indemnity, and for the Expences of the War. The Pope on his ſide, interpoſed his Prayers, and repreſented to the King of *Lombardy*, that he could not without Injuſtice retain two Provinces, which, from Time immemorial, made Part of the Empire. *Aſtolphe* proudly anſwered him, that this Diſcourſe became him leſs than another; that he could not but know, that it was at the Deſire of the two Popes *Gregory's*, and even at his own, that the *Lombards* had made War with the Emperors, as Hereticks; and that he ſhould know how to defend and preſerve the Conqueſts which coſt him immenſe Sums, and the pureſt Blood of his Nation. The Envoys from *Pepin* ſeeing there was no likelyhood to conclude a Peace, confined themſelves to demand of *Aſtolphe*, in the Name of the King their Maſter, a Paſſport, that they might conduct the Pope ſafely into *France*. It cannot be well expreſſed,

preſſed, how ſurpriſed and angry the King of *Lombardy* was at this Propoſal. He ſaw very well, that ſuch an extraordinary Journey concealed ſecret Deſigns, and the Succeſs whereof never could be favourable to him. He ſent ſome *Lombard* Lords to the Pope, to diſſuade him from it: but, finding him unmoveable, he was obliged at laſt to conſent to it; the Safe-conduct was diſpatched. The Pope immediately ſet out: croſſed in extreme haſte the Dominions of *Aſtolphe* for fear of being ſtopped; and he at length arrived happily upon the Lands of *France*.

WHEN *Pepin* heard that he was arrived in his Dominions, he immediately ſent the Abbè *Fulrad*, Arch-chaplain, or Maſter of the Chapel of the Palace, and the Duke *Rotard*, to meet him. *Charles*, the King's eldeſt Son, a young Prince of twelve Years old, followed them cloſe, and conducted the Pope to the Caſtle of *Pont-yon* in *Champagne*, where the King at that Time was. The Pope was received at the Court of *France* with

with all the Marks of Reſpect which were juſtly due to the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, and to the common Father of all *Chriſtians*.

THE Pope offered *Pepin* magnificent Preſents, and a great Quantity were diſtributed by his Order, to the principal Lords of the Court, to make them favourable to him: and in the publick Audience he obtained the next Day, he proſtrated himſelf at the King's Feet, with the Eccleſiaſticks of his Train, all cloathed in Sackcloth, and their Heads covered with Aſhes; conjuring that Prince, by the Merits of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, to deliver the *Roman* People from the Perſecution of the *Lombards*. The Pope remained in that Poſture, and would not get up till the King and the principal *French* Lords had given him their Hands as a Mark and a Pledge of the Protection they granted him. The Pope and the King then retired in private to confer together; and *Pepin* promiſed the Sovereign Pontiff, with an Oath, to get the Exarchate with its Dependences reſtored to the Empire.

WHILE

WHILE the Court was at *Pont-yon*, the Pope and the King ſaw one another ſeveral times. They both had their particular Deſigns; and each on his ſide thought of gaining ſolid Advantages from this Interview. *Pepin* was not without ſome Uneaſineſs on Account of his Succeſſor: the *French*, indeed, had choſe him King; but, they had not as yet explained themſelves concerning his Poſterity: and though in the firſt Race the Crown had been hereditary, the Form of the Government ſeemed to have changed by the Abdication of *Childerick*; and *Pepin* was afraid leſt the *French* ſhould maintain that Right of Election, favourable to the publick Liberty, and that after his Death, the Crown ſhould paſs into another Family. He was above all afraid, leſt the Choice of the Nation ſhould fall upon *Drogon*, the Son of *Carloman* his eldeſt Brother, whoſe Memory was ſtill dear to the principal Lords of the Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*.

PEPIN,

PEPIN, to fix the Crown in his Houſe, propoſed to the Pope, under the Pretence of renewing the Ceremony of his Coronation, that he would at the ſame time crown his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*; with a view, that the Veneration that all the *French* had for the Pope, and that the Prayers and the Counſels of that Pontiff would engage them to acknowledge the two young Princes for his Succeſſors.

STEPHEN with a good Grace offered to do thoſe Offices to the King, in hopes of getting others from him which would be no leſs advantageous to him: and theſe two cunning Politicians formed a ſtrict Alliance, of which reciprocal Intereſt tied the Knots. The Pope, who ſaw very well that the King had need of him, opened himſelf to that Prince, on the principal occaſion of his Journey: and though his Predeceſſors, and he himſelf, had ſollicited the Reſtitution of the Exarchate, only in favour of the Empire of which it made a Part, this Pontiff was not aſhamed to get a Promiſe from the

the King, that when he ſhould have drove the *Lombards* out of that Province, he would never reſtore it either to the Empire or to the Emperors; and he made him paſs an anticipated Donation of it to him, which the King and the Princes his Children ſigned conjointly with him. The Pope, after he had taken theſe Meaſures with *Pepin*, retired to the Abbey of Saint *Denis*, while the King retired to *Crecy* upon *Oiſe* *, where he held a Parliament, to get the War reſolved againſt the *Lombards*, according to what had been agreed with the Pope. It was not without Surprize that they ſaw come into this famous Aſſembly, the ſame *Carloman*, eldeſt Brother to *Pepin*, who, as we have ſaid, had ſhut himſelf up in the Monaſtery of Mount *Caſſini*, ſituated in the Dominions of the King of the *Lombards*. This Prince, to whom the Pope's Journey was very much ſuſpected, and who was afraid leſt he ſhould make the *French* declare againſt him, had required the Abbè of Mount *Caſſini* to ſend Prince *Carloman* to

He obtains from *Pepin* an anticipated Donation of the Exarchate.

D the

* Mr. *Fleuri* ſaith, *Cariſiac*, or *Quiercy*.

the Parliament of *Quiercy*, to croſs his Negotiations †. *Carloman* obeyed his Superior, and perhaps he was not ſorry to come into *France* to ſee his Children, whom *Pepin*, ſince his Elevation to the Throne, kept in an Obſcurity unworthy of their Birth. This Prince being arrived at *Quiercy*, repreſented to the King his Brother, and to the principal Lords of the Kingdom, the Miſfortunes and the fatal Conſequences of a War in a diſtant Country, and the Succeſs of which was very uncertain; and as he was not informed of the ſecret Deſigns of the Pope, and of the King, he added, that this War even concerned the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* only, Sovereign of *Italy*, and in which the Pope could take no Part at moſt but in Relation to ſome little Places that the *Lombards* had taken, and of which it was eaſy to procure the Reſtitution without ſending a *French* Army over the *Alpes*.

THESE

† A Reflection to make on the Difference between the Monks of thoſe times, and the preſent. The Monk obeyed his Abbè contrary to the Pope's Intereſt.

THESE Reflections made a great Impreſſion upon their Minds, eſpecially coming from the Mouth of a Prince whom they could not ſuſpect of any Intereſt, and of whom beſides they had not as yet forgot the Rank he had held in the Monarchy. Even the humbling Habit of a ſingle Monk with which he was clothed, gave more weight to his Reaſons, and increaſed the Reſpect and Veneration of the whole Aſſembly. So he obtained, that before they declared War with the King of *Lombardy*, they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to him to engage him to Peace.

THESE Envoys being arrived at *Pavia*, they entered upon a Negociation. *Aſtolphe*, for the good of Peace, was willing to relax from his Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Rome*, as a Member of the Exarchate. He offered not to diſturb any more the Citizens of *Rome* on the Account of the Tribute which they paid before to the Exarchs: but he declared plainly, that he would always retain the Ex-

archate, and the *Pentapolis*, which he had conquered from the *Greeks*, and whoſe Dominions, he ſaid, the *French* had no Intereſt to defend. This Prince flattered himſelf that the Pope and the King would be equally ſatisfied with theſe Propoſitions: but, on the Return of the *French* Ambaſſadors, the Pope and the King ſtill inſiſted upon the Reſtitution of thoſe Provinces in Favour of the Empire. The War was, in fine, reſolved: and the Pope, to rid himſelf of Prince *Carloman*, who had like to have broke all their Meaſures, ordered him, in concert with the King, to be confined in a Monaſtery of the City of *Vienne*, where he died the ſame Year. The taking away of the Princes his Children, who diſappeared at the ſame time, made it ſuſpected that the Death of their Father had not been natural.

WHILE the Pope occupied the Scene upon the Theatre of *France*, and while he was playing off thoſe different Springs of his Politicks there, the Pontiff fell dangerouſly ill

ill at St. *Denis*, the Place of his common Reſidence. He recovered afterwards: but to draw on himſelf the Veneration of the *French* he told the King, and he publiſhed, that he had recovered his Health only by a glorious Miracle which had been wrought in his Favour, and of which he relates the ſeveral Circumſtances in one of his Letters.

He ſaith, that ordering himſelf to be carried into the Church of Saint *Denis*, under the Bells, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* appeared to him, followed by Saint *Denis*, who was accompanied with a Deacon and a Subdeacon *; and that this Saint held a Palm in one Hand, and a Cenſer in the other. Nothing ſlips him; and he deſcribes exactly the Size, the Face, the Clothing of all thoſe holy Perſonages. He adds, that Saint *Dennis* interceded in his Favour with the Prince of the Apoſtles; that Saint *Peter* anſwered him, that he granted him the Health of the Sick; and that at the ſame time Saint *Denis* advancing towards him,

* The Hiſtorians ſay a Prieſt and a Deacon.

" Peace be with you, Brother, ſaid he to
" him. Fear not: you ſhall ſoon return to
" your Church. Ariſe: conſecrate this Al-
" tar to the Honour of God, and of the
" two Apoſtles, Authors of your Recovery;
" and celebrate the Maſs on it in Thankſ-
" giving for ſo great a Favour."

THUS it was that the Pope publiſhed the Account of this Miracle, or of this Viſion. This Pontiff, finding himſelf recovered, prepared immediately to execute the Orders of Heaven. Every thing was got ready in the Church of Saint *Denis* for the Conſecration of the Altar; a Multitude of People flocked from all Parts to be preſent at a Ceremony preſcribed by the Mouth of Saint *Denis* himſelf. It is not to be ſaid to what a Degree the Report of ſo many wonderful Things increaſed the Credit and Conſideration of the Pope among the *French*.

THE holy Father reſolved to profit by this Diſpoſition of their Minds, to keep his Word to *Pepin*. The ſame Day that he conſecrated

crated the Altar, and that he ſaid the Maſs at it, he crowned with his own Hand the King, Queen *Berthe* his Wife, and the Princes *Charles* and *Carloman* their Children. He added to this Ceremony an Excommunication, which he thundered out againſt all the *French*, who, after the Death of *Pepin*, ſhould propoſe to fill his Place with any Princes or Lords which ſhould not be of his Blood; and the more ſtrictly to engage *Pepin*, and the Princes his Children, to make War with the King of the *Lombards*, he publickly declared them Patricians of *Rome*. *Pepin* did not fail to ſend as far as three times Ambaſſadors to *Aſtolphe*, to exhort him to reſtore to the Empire, and to the Church of *Rome*, the Towns and Caſtles which he had ſeized: and he took this Step with the Pope's Conſent, who, in the Uncertainty of the Succeſs of this War, was willing to preſerve ſtill for ſome time in the Eyes of the Publick the Merit of acting only for the Intereſts of the Emperor his Sovereign.

ASTOLPHE, on his Side, who could not comprehend that the *French* ſhould determine to paſs the *Alpes* for the Intereſt of the *Greeks*, with whom they had not any Alliance, declared that he intended to preſerve his Conqueſts: and, in the mean time, for Fear of Surprize, he threw divers Bodies of Troops into the Streights of the Mountains to defend the Paſſage of them.

PEPIN, preſſed by the Pope, did not fail to advance: he forces thoſe Paſſages: nothing reſiſts the Valour of his Soldiers: he puſhes all that preſents before him. He then enters into the Plain: ſpreads Terror on all Sides; and after he has ravaged the *Campagnia*, he ſtops before *Pavia*, and lays Siege to it. It was the ſtrongeſt Place, and as it were the Bulwark of *Lombardy*. *Aſtolphe* had ſhut himſelf up in it with his beſt Troops: the Siege was long, and the Defence very ſharp and obſtinate; but *Aſtolphe*, fearing to ſink at laſt under the Effort of the *French* Attacks, they entered into a Nego-

Negociation. The holy Father made himſelf Mediator of it, either to avoid the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, or perhaps for Fear, that if *Pepin* carried the Place he ſhould puſh his Conqueſts farther, and make himſelf Maſter of all *Italy*. Be theſe Motives as they will, after ſeveral Conferences, they agreed at length that *Aſtolphe* ſhould deliver the Exarchate into the Hands of the King of *France*, and the Juriſdictions of Saint *Peter* to the Pope: and for the Execution of his Word, to deliver forty Hoſtages choſen from the principal Lords of his Nation. *Pepin*, perſuaded that with ſuch Pledges the *Lombard* would not dare to break his Word with him, thought proper to return to *France* before the Snow had cloſed the Paſſage of the *Alpes*; and, at the ſame time, he ordered the Pope to be reconducted to *Rome* by Prince *Jerome*, *Charles Martel*'s natural Son, and by *Fulrad* Abbè of Saint *Denis*.

ASTOLPHE believed that the Departure of the *French* had diſengaged him from the Execution of a Treaty, that the Fear alone of their Arms had made him ſign. He was incenſed againſt the Pope, who had drawn ſuch formidable Enemies on him; and to revenge himſelf for it, he reſolved, while the Winter did not permit the *French* to return into *Italy*, to attempt the Siege of *Rome*, perſuaded, that a happy Succeſs would make his Breach of Word forgotten, or would put him in a Condition not to fear any thing from him; and he began the Execution of this ſecret Deſign by putting off under divers Pretences, the Evacuation of the Places he was to reſtore to the Pope and to the Empire.

He ſpeedily collects his Troops diſperſed in divers Places, ſecretly makes new Levies, marches directly to *Rome*, inveſts it, and ſends to ſummon the Inhabitants to deliver up the Pope to him, under the Pretence that he had drawn the *French* into *Italy*.

Aſtolphe

Aſtolphe flattered himſelf that the *Romans*, to deliver themſelves from the Perils of a Siege, would deliver the Pope into his Hands, or at leaſt that this Propoſition would divide their Minds, and would excite a Diviſion in the City. But, all the Citizens remained cloſely united with the Sovereign Pontiff; they even ſupported the Attacks of the *Lombards* with ſo much Courage, for near three Months, that they gave time to the *French* to advance to their Aſſiſtance.

THE Pope, to haſten *Pepin*'s March, wrote Letters upon Letters to him. Nothing is more pathetick than the Pontiff's Expreſſions. "I conjure you in the Name of "GOD (ſays he in one of his Letters, addreſſing himſelf to the King of *France*, "and to his Children) by the glorious Virgin, by all the celeſtial Virtues, and by "Saint *Peter*, who has crowned you King, "to deliver us from the Arms of the *Lombards*, and to put us in Poſſeſſion of all "the Places contained in the Donation you "made of them to Saint *Peter* your Pro-

"tector.

" tector. You know that we have truſted " the Intereſts of the holy Church to you: " and you muſt give an Account to GOD " at the dreadful Day of Judgment, of the " Zeal you have ſhewn in its Defence. It " is for you, that ſo meritorious a Work " has been reſerved: not any of your An- " ceſtors have been favoured with ſo glori- " ous a Grace. It is you alone, whom GOD, " by his eternal Preſcience, has choſen for " this Purpoſe: for, thoſe whom he has " predeſtinated, he has alſo called; and " thoſe whom he has called, he has alſo " juſtified."

THUS it was that this Pope made an Application of thoſe dreadful Myſteries of Grace and Predeſtination to the Aggrandizement of his Temporalities. In fine, as Aſſiſtance did not as yet appear, and as the *Lombards* redoubled their Efforts, the Pontiff uſed an Artifice, coarſe indeed, and even Deſtitute of all Probability, but which ſhews us the Genius of that Age, and how much the Men at that time were taken with every thing

thing which had the Appearance of Revelation.

THE Pope ſent the King a Letter from Saint *Peter*, as if it had fallen from Heaven. This Letter was addreſſed to *Pepin*, to his Children, to the Lords of the Nation, to all the People, and to the Armies of the *French*. The Title of this Letter is imitated from the Canonical Epiſtles, and begins with theſe Words: " *Peter* called to the Apoſtleſhip " by JESUS CHRIST the SON of the living " GOD. I conjure you, ſaith this Apoſtle, " to make your Troops march immediately " to the Aſſiſtance of the *Roman* Church. " Do not permit my City of *Rome*, and my " People, to be expoſed to the Pillage of " the *Lombards*, if you will ſave your Souls " and your Bodies from eternal Fire. If " you obey me ſpeedily, you ſhall ſurmount " all your Enemies, you ſhall live long, you " ſhall eat of the Fat of the Land, and af- " terwards you ſhall have eternal Life. " Otherwiſe, I declare to you, by the Au- " thority of the Holy Trinity, and the

" Power

" Power of my Apoſtleſhip, that you ſhall " never have a Part in the Kingdom of " Heaven."

ONE could hardly believe that this Pontiff had puſhed Artifice and Fiction ſo far, if we had not ſtill his Letters; and one is no leſs ſurprized to find in them thoſe Sort of Equivocations, of which it is eaſy to diſcover the Illuſion. I ſpeak of thoſe Expreſſions, wherein the ſo reſpectable Name of the Church, which ought never to be uſed but to ſignify the Aſſembly of the Faithful, is taken for the temporal Goods belonging to the Holy See: the Flock of JESUS CHRIST ſignifies the Bodies and not the Souls: the temporal Promiſes of the old Law are mixed with the ſpiritual ones of the Goſpel; and the moſt holy Motives of Religion employed for a State Affair.

N. fol. 33. verſo.

PEPIN, as great a Stateſman as he was, did not eſcape this play of Words: he believed, that his Salvation was concerned, to take away the Exarchate from the King of

of the *Lombards*, to give it to the Pope, to the Prejudice of the Emperor to whom it belonged. In this View he repaſſed the *Alpes* at the Head of a powerful Army, beat the *Lombards*, raiſed the Siege of *Rome*, formed that of *Pavia*, and puſhed it ſo ſharply, that *Aſtolphe*, to ſave his Capital, and perhaps his Crown, demanded Peace on the Conditions that it ſhould pleaſe this Prince to preſcribe to him. This great Affair was negociated in Preſence of the Ambaſſadors from the Emperor *Conſtantine*. They had landed at *Marſeilles*: but hearing that *Pepin* was actually beſieging *Pavia*, they repaired to his Camp with all Diligence.

The Pope, from *Pepin*'s Entrance into *Italy*, no longer made a Myſtery of the Donation he had required from that Prince. Therefore the Miniſters from *Conſtantine*, after they had congratulated *Pepin* upon the happy Succeſs of his Arms, repreſented to him, that the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis* made a Part of the Empire: that indeed the *Lombards*,

Lombards to the Prejudice of a Treaty of Peace, and even while the Emperor was engaged in fighting the *Saracens*, and the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, had ſeized thoſe Provinces; but, that he was too juſt to be willing to enrich the Pope, and a Subject of the Empire, with the Spoils of his Sovereign.

PEPIN anſwered them, that he had paſſed the *Alpes* only to deliver the Pope from the Vexations of the *Lombards*; that he had vowed all his Conqueſts to Saint *Peter*; that GOD had bleſſed his Intentions, and his Arms; and that he ſhould believe he merited his Indignation, if he failed in his Vows, and in his Promiſe. It was with ſuch a dry Anſwer, that he ſent back thoſe Ambaſſadors. He applied himſelf afterwards to put *Aſtolphe* out of a Condition to break his Word with him a ſecond time.

IN this View, he required that Prince to execute directly the Treaty of *Pavia*, that is to ſay, that he ſhould deliver up the Exarchate and the *Pentapolis* to his Commiſſaries;

ries; that for the Expence of the War, he ſhould yield up *Comacchio*, with the third Part of its Treaſures; and that he and his Succeſſors in perpetuity, ſhould acknowledge themſelves Vaſſals of the Crown of *France*, and that they ſhould pay the ancient Tribute of twelve thouſand Crowns of Gold, from which they had freed themſelves under the Reign of *Coltaire* the Second. However hard theſe Conditions were for a Sovereign, *Aſtolphe* was forced to ſubmit to them, to preſerve the reſt of his Dominions. He delivered up two and twenty Towns to the Abbè *Fulrad*, *Pepin*'s Commiſſary, who carried the Keys of them to Saint *Peter*'s Tomb, with the Donation that Prince made of all the profitable Domain of thoſe Places, although always under the Sovereignty of the Crown of *France*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Pepin delivers to the Pope the Towns which he takes from the *Lombards*.

ASTOLPHE under divers Pretences had deferred delivering up *Ferrara*, *Ancona*, and *Bologna*; he ſtill kept ſundry Bodies of Troops in Garriſon in them; and this proud

and courageous Prince, provoked to ſee his Conqueſts taken from him by a Prieſt, waited for a favourable Conjuncture, and the Advantage of the Times, to re-enter the Places which he had been forced to deliver up: but Death prevented the Execution of his Deſigns; and he was killed in hunting, by a fall from his Horſe.

THE *Lombards* were divided about the Choice of his Succeſſor. *Didier*, Duke of *Tuſcany*, and one of *Aſtolphe*'s Generals, ſeeing himſelf at the Head of the Army, did not believe that he could meet with any Competitor. But, the other Dukes of the Nation, whether they did not care to make themſelves a Maſter of their Equal, ſent a Deputation to *Rachis*, who, as we have ſaid, was retired to the Monaſtery of Mount *Caſſini*, to intreat that Prince to be ſo good as to reaſcend the Throne; and to ſacrifice his Love of Retirement to the Safety of his People, and to the common Good of the whole Nation.

RACHIS

RACHIS did not ſeem averſe to give them that Satisfaction: all the Dukes armed in his Favour. *Didier*, ſurpriſed to ſee ſo formidable a Rival, had recourſe to the Pope; and he ſent him word, if he would vouchſafe to ſupport his Intereſt with the King of *France*, he would reſtore to him the Places which had remained under the Dominion of the *Lombards*. This Motive determined the Pope: he declared openly in favour of this *Lombard*, and againſt *Rachis*, to whom he ſent word, that he would not ſuffer him to go out of the Cloiſter. *Rachis*, full of a ſincere Piety, renounced the Crown a ſecond Time, and buried himſelf in his Retreat. *Didier* was acknowledged King of the *Lombards*.

THE Pope ſurvived this great Event but a little Time; he died about the Year 757. The Deacon *Paul*, who was his Brother, ſucceeded him in his Dignity, and in his Application to increaſe the temporal Power of it. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf in Saint *Peter*'s Chair, but he preſſed *Didier* to de-

liver three Places to him, in which the *Lombards* ſtill kept Garriſon. But this Prince found, that his Intereſts had changed with his Fortune: he foreſaw the Conſequences of this Reſtitution for the Crown of *Lombardy*; and according to the Maxim of the Politicians, he believed that a Prince upon the Throne was quit of all the Engagements he had taken to attain to it.

POPE *Paul* complained of it to *Pepin*; and wrote to him of it in Terms no leſs preſſing, than thoſe Pope *Stephen* had uſed. We find in it throughout, great Sentiments of Piety, mixed and confounded with lively Exhortations to make War with the *Lombards*. If we did not know that this Nation had been Catholick for above a hundred and fifty Years, we ſhould believe in reading theſe Letters, that the Queſtion was to take up Arms againſt *Barbarians* and *Infidels*, Enemies to GOD and to the true Religion. In the mean time, theſe Letters had no other Object, but to arm Chriſtian Princes one againſt the other, for an Intereſt purely temporal: and this Pope, after the Example of

of his laſt Predeceſſors, made no Scruple to annex a ſpiritual Obligation to it; and to threaten with the Wrath of Heaven, and with Damnation, thoſe who ſhould not declare themſelves againſt the *Lombards*.

BUT *Pepin* did not let himſelf be ſhaken on this Occaſion; either becauſe he had more preſſing affairs, or that he did not think it juſt and advantageous for his Dominions to make War with the *Lombards*. The Death of this Prince even changed the Diſpoſition of the *French* in regard to that Nation; and the ancient Alliance which was between *Charles Martel* and *Liutprand*, was renewed between *Didier* and *Charlemain*, Son and Succeſſor to *Pepin*.

THE entire Body of the *French* Monarchy had been divided after the Death of *Pepin*, between *Charles* and *Carloman* his Sons. A Miſunderſtanding ſoon aroſe between two Brothers, both Kings and both Neighbours. *Carloman* complained of having been wronged in this Diviſion. *Didier*, attentive to what paſſed in *France*, whoſe

Power he dreaded, artfully fomented theſe Diviſions. He knew how to make himſelf agreeable to *Carloman*, whom he privately aſſured of his Troops, of thoſe of the Duke of *Bavaria* his Son-in-law, and of the Duke of *Aquitain* his Ally, great Vaſſals of the Crown of *France*. All was diſpoſed for a Rupture between the two Brothers. Queen *Berthe*, or *Bertrade*, *Pepin*'s Widow, touched with the Diſcord of the Kings her Sons, undertook to reconcile them. The Queſtion was to gain *Didier*, whoſe Counſels had a great Influence over the Mind of *Carloman*.

THE King of the *Lombards* had three Children; a Son named *Adalgiſe*, and two Daughters. *Thaſſitton* Duke of *Bavaria* had married the eldeſt named *Lutberge*, or *Liutperge*. Queen *Berthe*, to intereſt the *Lombard* in this Reconciliation, formed the Deſign to marry her Daughter *Giſele* or *Giſle*, Siſter to the two *French* Kings, to *Adalgiſe*, and at the ſame time to make *Charles* her eldeſt Son marry *Didier*'s youngeſt

youngeſt Daughter, named *Hermengarde*, although *Charles* was already married to the Daughter of a *French* Lord, named *Himiltrude* *. But, at that time, the leaſt Pretence opened the Door to a Divorce, which was become an almoſt general Abuſe, eſpecially among Sovereigns: and the Queen Dowager of *France*, probably, did not believe that that firſt Marriage could be an Obſtacle to ſo great a Good, as that of the Peace ſhe was contriving between the Princes her Children.

Be it as it will, the Negociation was puſhed very forward. Pope *Stephen* the Third, who ſucceeded *Paul* the Firſt, did not hear the News of it, without great Grief: he foreſaw the Conſequences of it, and what he had to fear from ſo cloſe an Alliance between the Kings of *France* and *Lombardy*. This Pontiff wrote of it to

* *Pepin*, ſays *Mezeray*, had married his two Sons, it is not ſaid to whom. Perhaps they were only betrothed: but, if they had accompliſhed the Marriage, it muſt be ſaid that they were divorced; for their Mother obliged them to take other Wives.

the two Kings of the *French*: he uſed ſundry Reaſons in his Letter, to make the Negociation miſcarry; ſome ſolid, and taken from the Indiſſolubility of *Charles*'s firſt Marriage; and the others frivolous; but all equally adjuſted to his Intereſts, and in the Stile of his Predeceſſors. He repreſents this Alliance to them as the Work of the Devil, and the *Lombards* as a contemptible perfidious Nation, infected with the Leproſy, and unworthy to enter into the Alliance of the illuſtrious and noble Houſe of *France*. He added, in wreſting the Senſe of Scripture according to his Views, that by the Law of God, all Alliance with Strangers was forbid: which was true under the old Law, in regard to the *Jewiſh* People, and in reſpect to the Infidels and idolatrous Nations; but which never could be applied to Chriſtian Princes, whoſe Alliances on the contrary ſerve to maintain Peace.

BUT, all theſe Motives ſeemed ſolid to the Pope, provided they might ſerve to avert the *French* Princes from that Alliance.

He

He concluded his Letter with intreating them in the Name of Saint *Peter*, and by the Fear of the Judgment of God, to oblige the *Lombards* to deliver to him immediately the Places they ſtill retained of the Dependences of the Exarchate: and to render this Remonſtrance more effectual he, acquaints them, that he had laid his Letter upon Saint *Peter*'s Tomb while he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Maſs; and that it was to that Prince of the Apoſtles that they ſhould anſwer for the Rights of his Church: and the whole under Pain of Anathema, and of eternal Damnation.

THESE Prayers and Exhortations made little Impreſſion on the Court of *France*. Queen *Berthe* went into *Italy*: and after ſhe had there procured a kind of an Accommodation between the Pope and *Didier*, ſhe brought that Prince's Daughter into *France*, whom *Charles* married at her Return; but the Project of Prince *Adalgiſe*'s Marriage with *Giſele* came to nothing.

AT

AT the ſame time as *Didier* ſecured the Alliance of *France*, by the Marriage of his Daughter, he formed alſo various Intrigues to embroil that Court with the Court of *Rome*, and to deprive the Popes of a Protection, from which they drew all their Grandeur. The Pope had two Officers who ſhared all his Confidence, and conſequently Rivals in his Favour. The firſt was named *Chriſtopher*, Dean of the Church, and to whom the Pope was indebted for the *Thiara*. *Paul Aſiarte* the Pontiff's Chamberlain, had no leſs Power over his Mind. *Chriſtopher*, and *Sergius* his Son, taking the Advantages of the Services they had done to *Stephen* in his Election, governed their Maſter a little too imperiouſly. They continually repreſented to the Pope, that after the Example of his Predeceſſors, he ought to renew his Inſtances with the *French* Kings, to oblige *Didier* to evacuate the Places which he ſtill retained of the Exarchate. Although the Father and the Son had no other but good Intentions, yet the Pope was fatigued with

thoſe

thoſe Counſels which they would make him receive as Laws. The Chamberlain took the Advantage of this Diſpoſition, and got the better in his Favour. *Didier*, informed of his Credit, brought him into his Intereſts, and they agreed to get rid of a common Enemy. *Didier*, to attain his Ends, ſent word to the Pope, that he ſhould be very glad to come and viſit the Church and the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, which were without the Walls of *Rome*. *Stephen*, prepoſſeſſed by the Chamberlain, who repreſented to him that it was a favourable Conjuncture to get out of the Hands of that Prince by the Way of Gentleneſs the Places which were ſtill in his Power, anſwered *Didier*'s Envoys, that if he came with a Deſign to reſtore to the Church what he retained from it, he ſhould be welcome. But the Dean and his Son, perſuaded that this Journey of Devotion concealed other Projects, adviſed the Pope not to let himſelf be ſurprized by that Prince: and as *Rome* at that time was rather without a Maſter than at Liberty, *Chriſtopher* and his Son, who had the principal Authority there, brought into the

the City divers Bodies of Troops, which they drew from the new Dominions of the Pope. The Chamberlain, on his Side, under the Pretence of watching his Maſter's Preſervation, made his Party take up Arms. All was in Arms in *Rome*; the Dean to defend the Entrance of the City againſt the *Lombards*; and the Chamberlain, to prevent being ſurprized by his Enemy. In the mean time, *Didier* arrived with the Body of an Army; an Eſcort little ſuitable to a Pilgrimage, and to a Journey of Devotion: and he demanded an Interview with the Pope.

THE Dean was not for it: and did what he could to diſſuade the Pope from it; but, the Chamberlain's Advice prevailed. *Stephen* went out of *Rome*, to the Church of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul:* he entered into a Conference with the King of the *Lombards*; and all paſſed at firſt in reciprocal Complaints. *Didier* ſeemed to be offended at the Diffidence of the Pope, and of the Citizens of *Rome*, who on his Arrival had taken up Arms. *Stephen*, on his

his Side, reproached him with the Inexecution of his Word, which he had given to his Predeceſſor to reſtore the Places of the Exarchate. While they were treating of their reciprocal Pretenſions, Word was brought to the Pope, that the Dean and the Chamberlain, each at the Head of their Party, were ready to come to Blows: that the principal Citizens of *Rome* had declared for the Chamberlain, upon his having perſuaded them that the Dean, by his Attachment to the *French*, hindered the Reunion of the Pope and the *Lombard*; and that by his ill Counſels, he was the Cauſe of the Ravages which that Prince made upon their Lands, and in the *Campagnia*. All the People, prepoſſeſſed by theſe Reports, demanded the Death of the Dean. The Pope returned into *Rome*, to put a ſtop to the Diſorder. *Chriſtopher*, *Sergius* his Son, *Dodon* ſent from King *Carloman*, with ſome other *Frenchmen* alſo armed, went to wait upon the Pontiff, to reproach him for his Intelligence with the *Lombard*.

THESE

THESE Reproaches unſeaſonably made, had the ſame Effect as the Flattery and the Inſinuations of the Chamberlain. The Pope provoked at their Want of Reſpect, united ſtill more cloſely with *Didier*: he went to him a ſecond Time; and, after they had conferred together, *Stephen* ſent to tell the Dean and his Son, that he gave them their Choice, to confine themſelves in a Monaſtery for the reſt of their Days, or to go immediately to Saint *Peter*'s Church to juſtify themſelves before him, and before the King of the *Lombards*, for the ſeveral Crimes of which they were accuſed.

THE Father and the Son refuſed at firſt to do either; but, it was no ſooner known in *Rome*, that the Pope had ſacrificed them to the King of the *Lombards*, than all their Friends forſook them: they even fell into the Hands of the *Lombards*, as they endeavoured to fly. *Didier* ſent them back to the Pope, who gave them to underſtand, that there was no way to ſave their Lives, but

but by taking the religious Habit, which they were forced to promiſe. They ſecured them; and the Chamberlain, in Concert with the King of *Lombardy*, fearing leſt they ſhould regain the Pope's Confidence, ordered their Eyes to be put out. *Chriſtopher* died of it a few Days after: his Son was cruelly put to death a little before *Stephen*'s Deceaſe; and the Chamberlain ordered all their Friends and all their Favourers to be baniſhed.

AFTER this bloody Tragedy, the Pope and the *Lombard* parted equally contented with one another: and the Pope particularly; perſuaded by *Didier*'s Oaths and Promiſes, that he would immediately deliver up to him the Places depending on the Exarchate. He was ſo convinced of it, that he wrote at the ſame time to *Charles* the *French* King, and to Queen *Berthe* his Mother, in Favour of that Prince, to whom he gave the greateſt Praiſes in his Letters. He is no longer perfidious, a Leper, a Man whoſe Alliance and Correſpondence was abominable,

ble, as he had ſpoken of him in his former Letters. He calls him his moſt excellent Son: he owns that he had ſaved him and all the Clergy of *Rome*, from the ill Deſigns of the Dean and his Son; and that it is to him alone that he is indebted for his Life. He adds, that his moſt dear Son, the excellent King of the *Lombards*, whom GOD preſerve, has delivered up to him fully and wholly all the Juriſdictions of Saint *Peter*.

IN the mean time they were not long in *France* without receiving quite contray Letters from him; and he wrote to the two *French* Kings, that he conjured them to command the King of the *Lombards* to reſtore inſtantly the Places which belonged to the *Roman* Church. This Variety of Conduct was founded upon *Didier*'s flattering himſelf with having embroiled the Pope with the Court of *France*, by the Manner in which he had treated the Dean and his Son, who were very much attached to it; he pulled off the Maſk; and, upon the Inſtances that the Pope made him to execute the Promiſe

Promiſe he had given him in Saint *Peter*'s Church, he acquainted him, that he was well informed that the *French* Kings, and *Carloman* eſpecially, were preparing to paſs into *Italy*, to revenge the Death of the Dean their Creature, and who had acted only by their Orders; and that therefore, neither one or other of them ought to think at preſent of any thing, but to unite more cloſely to defend the Entrance of *Italy* againſt thoſe Princes.

THE Pope ſaw too late the Fault he had committed in giving himſelf up to the intereſted Counſels of this Prince. The Death of this Pontiff, and that of *Carloman* *, changed the Face of Affairs again, and again ſet the *French* and the *Lombards* at Variance. *Charles*, whom we ſhall call hereafter *Charles* the Great, or *Charlemain*, ſeized his Brother's Dominions, and reunited

* *Carloman* died the 24th *December* 771; Pope *Stephen* the Third died the 1ſt *February* 772.

under his Government the whole *French* Monarchy.

ADRIAN, of a noble Family of the City of *Rome*, ſucceeded at the ſame Time Pope *Stephen*. This new Pontiff, either more cunning than his Predeceſſor, or raiſed to St. *Peter*'s Chair by an oppoſite Faction, obſerved a Conduct quite different from *Stephen*'s: he recalled the Dean's Favourers, and all thoſe whom *Paul Aſiarte*, in Concert with the King of *Lombardy*, had baniſhed. They afterwards proceeded againſt the Chamberlain, who, falling afterwards into the Hands of the Magiſtrate of *Ravenna*, expiated by his Death that of *Chriſtopher* and his Son whom he had treated ſo cruelly. Happily for the Pope, the Alliance which was at that time between *Charlemain* and *Didier*, was broke. The firſt Occaſion of their Miſunderſtanding came from the *French* King's having repudiated the *Lombard*'s Daughter, for ſecret Infirmities which hindered her from being a Mother. *Didier*, to revenge himſelf for it, gave Sanctuary in his Court to *Hunaud* Duke of

of *Aquitain*, who had revolted againſt *Charlemain*; and at the ſame time he received into his Dominions the Widow of *Carloman* and her Children, who had fled thither for fear of a Treatment like that which *Pepin* had formerly given to the Children of old *Carloman* his Brother, of which we have ſpoken.

THE King of the *Lombards*, to embroil the Pope with the *French* King, offered him the Reſtitution of the Places of the Exarchate which were ſtill in queſtion, on Condition that he ſhould crown the Children of *Carloman*. But *Adrian*, informed by the Example of his Predeceſſor, avoided the Snare; and after he had made a Merit to himſelf with *Charlemain* of the Refuſal to crown the Princes his Nephews, he implored the Aſſiſtance of his Arms againſt their common Enemy; and conjured him to have the Donation fully executed, which King *Pepin* his Father made to the Holy See, and to which he himſelf had ſubſcribed.

Pope *Adrian* engages *Charlemain* to come into *Italy* to compleat the Overthrow of the Power of the *Lombards*.

THE *French* King, who ſaw very well that *Didier* ſought only to excite a Civil War in *France*, to hinder his carrying his Arms into *Italy*, reſolved to be beforehand with him; and after ſeveral Negociations which had no Succeſs, he raiſed ſo numerous an Army, and ſuch a powerful Body of Troops, that it might well be judged that the Queſtion in this War was not ſolely to get reſtored to the Holy See the Caſtles and ſome Places, from which the *Lombard* had not as yet been able to reſolve to withdraw his Garriſons.

Charlemain at the Head of his Troops, advanced to the Entrance of the *Alps*: he found the Paſſages of them poſſeſſed by the Troops of *Didier*, which they engaged ſeveral times, without being able to force them. The *French*, diſcouraged by ſuch an obſtinate Defence, thought of retreating, when a panick Terror, and perhaps the Money and the Emiſſaries of the Pope, made the *Lombards* run away. They abandoned at once their

their Enſigns, and ſo advantageous a Poſt. *Didier* drawn by the Fugitives, was obliged to follow them. The *French* no longer finding any Obſtacle but the Difficulty of the Ways, paſs the Mountains in different Places, and enter into the Plain. *Didier* having thrown himſelf into *Pavia*, and *Adalgiſe* his Son, with *Carloman*'s Widow and Children, having ſhut themſelves up in *Verona*, *Charlemain* formed the Siege of thoſe two Places at the ſame time.

ADALGISE made but a feeble Reſiſtance. That Prince for fear of falling into the Hands of the *French*, fled to *Conſtantinople*. The Inhabitants of *Verona* ſeeing themſelves forſaken by their Sovereign's Son, opened their Gates, and delivered *Carloman*'s Widow and Children up to the *French*: they were conducted into *France*. Hiſtory not ſaying what became of them there, gives us ſufficiently to comprehend their unhappy Lot, and that they were either ſhaved, or put to death.

DIDIER ſhewed more Courage in the Defence of *Pavia*. He had brought a whole Army into it, and the beſt of his Troops. *Charlemain* ſaw very well that nothing but Time, and Scarcity of Proviſions, could make him Maſter of the Place. He ordered all the Avenues to be cloſely ſhut up, and during this Kind of Blockade, he took a Journey to *Rome* out of Devotion, and to viſit the Tomb of the holy Apoſtles. The Magiſtrates, and all the Corporations of the City, went out to meet him, and he was received by the Pope with all the Honours that were paid to the Patricians, and to the Exarchs.

THE Pope and the King had ſeveral Conferences on the Subject of this War, and united cloſely. The Intereſts of the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* was no longer in queſtion, although *Adrian* at his coming to the Pontificate had acknowledged them for his Sovereigns.

IT is pretended that it was in this firſt Journey to *Rome*, that the Pope made a Preſent to the King of the Code of the Canons of the Church, according to the Edition of *Denis le Petit*. *Adrian* in the Addreſs he made to him of it, wiſhed that that Prince might ſoon be Maſter of *Pavia*, and that he might completely conquer the Kingdom of *Lombardy*. *Charlemain*, on his Side, confirmed by his Patents *Pepin*'s Donation, and and then returned to his Army. The Inhabitants of *Pavia*, preſſed by Famine, revolted againſt *Didier*, and in a Sedition they killed *Hunaud* Duke of *Aquitain*, as the Incendiary of this War, and the Cauſe of the Miſery they ſuffered. The King of the *Lombards*, fearing leſt they ſhould deliver him up to *Charlemain*, believed he ſhould receive a more favourable Treatment from him, by opening himſelf the Gates of the City to his Enemy. He delivered up himſelf, his Wife and his Children, to the Diſcretion of the Conqueror, who ſent him into *France* in the Year 774, and he was

confined in the Monaſtery of *Corbie*, where he ended his Days.

Charlemain confirms and increaſes the Donation that *Pepin* had made to the Pope.

THE Dukes and the principal *Lombard* Lords, little united among themſelves, without a King and without a Chief, ſubmitted to *Charlemain*. He was acknowledged and ſolemnly crowned King of *Lombardy*. This Prince eſtabliſhed the *French* Government all over *Italy*. He afterwards put the Pope in poſſeſſion of the Places he claimed: and ſome Hiſtorians even pretend, that he conſiderably increaſed *Pepin*'s Donation.

BUT, if this religious Prince enlarged the Donation of the Popes, he knew at the ſame time how to confine the temporal Authority, to the juſt Bounds which ſuit Subjects who hold of a ſuperior Power. We have ſeen, that the two *Gregory's* and their Succeſſors, under the Pretence of defending the Entrance of the *Iconoclaſtes* into *Italy*, had made themſelves, as it were, the Chiefs and the Sovereigns of *Rome*, and of a Part of *Italy*.

THE

THE lawful Power of the Sovereign made that growing Dominion diſappear, or at leaſt ſuſpended it. All paſſed afterwards by the abſolute Orders of *Charlemain:* his Officers reformed the particular Judgments, that the Popes gave in regard to their Vaſſals; and they themſelves had recourſe to the Juſtice of the King in their perſonal Affairs, as it happened to *Leo* the Third.

THIS Pontiff, having ſucceeded Pope *Adrian*, ſent immediately, ſays *Eginhart*, Legates to *Charlemain*, to carry him the Keys of Saint *Peter*'s Tomb, the Standard of the City of *Rome* the Symbole of the Sovereignty, and abundance of Preſents.

THESE Legates were charged to pray the *French* King to ſend ſome Lord of his Court to *Rome*, to receive in his Name the Oath of Fidelity of the *Romans:* and nothing better proves the Sovereignty of this Prince, than the Cogniſance he took of the Inſult done

done to the ſaid Pontiff, by *Paſcal* and *Campulus*, Nephew to his Predeceſſor *.

THESE two *Roman* Citizens, vexed at his being raiſed to the Sovereign Pontificate, formed a Conſpiracy to deſtroy him, attacked him in a Proceſſion, endeavoured to pluck out his Eyes, and to cut out his Tongue. The Pope was ſo happy as to eſcape from the Hands of theſe Murderers, and fled to *Charlemain*, to demand of him his Protection and Juſtice againſt the *Romans*. His Enemies, on their Side, ſent Deputies to the King, who charged *Leo* with ſeveral Crimes.

THE King, to be informed of the Truth, ſent Commiſſaries to *Rome*, who carried the Pope back thither, and who laboured afterwards a whole Week to examine the ſeveral Heads of Accuſation brought againſt him.

CHARLE-

* Mr. *Fleuri* calls them both Relations of *Adrian*; the one Primicier, and the other Sacellaire.

CHARLEMAIN followed his Envoys close, passed the Seas, went to *Rome*, and applied himself with great Care to discover the Truth, or the Falshood, of the Crimes laid to the Pope's Charge. There were neither Accusers, nor Witnesses to be found: the Pope was admitted to his Oath; and swore upon the Holy Gospels, that the Crimes they imputed to him were unknown to him. *Charlemain*, after his Oath, declared him innocent; and condemned *Pascal* and *Campulus* to Death. But, the Pope having begged their Pardon, the Punishment was changed into Banishment; and Tranquility was restored in *Rome* by the Authority of this Prince, and the Banishment of the Mutinous.

THE Pope and the *Romans*, to acknowledge his Favours, and to assure themselves of his Protection, resolved to proclaim him Emperor

Emperor of the Weſt: a Title extinct in the Weſt ſince the Year 476, but which added nothing to the Power of a Prince who poſſeſſed not only *Rome*, the Seat of the Empire, but who was Sovereign of the beſt Part of *Italy* and of *Germany*, and of all the *Gauls*. It is pretended that *Leo*, to revenge himſelf of the *Greek* Emperors, by whom ſeveral Popes had been ill-treated, ſeized this Opportunity to detach themſelves entirely from their Empire. Be it as it will, this Pontiff concerted this Affair with the Chief Citizens of *Rome*, who were charmed to ſee this great Title revive in the Weſt: and upon *Chriſtmas-day*, while *Charlemain* was in Saint *Peter*'s Church, he put a Crown of Gold upon his Head, and a long purple Mantle upon his Shoulders: which was received by all the People with great Acclamations, and they were heard to cry from all Sides, Life and Victory to *Charles Auguſtus*, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the *Romans*. *

THE

* It was in 800, or 801 if you beg'n the Year at *Chriſtmas*.

THE Pope, ſay our Annaliſts, adored the Emperor. In the mean time, there was more Noiſe than Reality in all this Ceremony, which did not give an Inch of Land to *Charlemain*. And indeed this Prince affirmed afterwards, that if he could have foreſeen the Pope's Deſign, he would not have gone to Church that Day, although it was a very ſolemn Feaſt. *Leo* always reſpected *Charlemain* as his Sovereign. Nothing can be ſeen more ſubmiſſive, nor more reſpectful, than the manner in which he wrote to him: and his Letters make mention, that this Prince ſhould ſend into the Dominions, that King *Pepin* and he had given to the Holy See, Officers to adminiſter Juſtice and to ſee his Orders executed there.

V. Epiſt. 1. 5. 10. in Collect. Concil. vel inter Oper. Henrici Caniſii.

ALL bowed in *Italy* under the Power of an Emperor, as juſt as formidable: but, he was no ſooner dead, than *Leo* himſelf and his

After the Death of *Charlemain*, Pope *Leo* and his Succeſſors

ſeem employed only in weakening the Imperial Authority in *Italy*, to ſtrengthen and increaſe that which they had acquired to themſelves.

his Succeſſors, ſeemed employed ſince only with the Care to weaken that Authority, from which in the mean time they held all their Grandeur. *Leo*'s Predeceſſors had artfully made uſe of the Arms of the *Lombards*, to weaken the Dominion of the *Greeks*. They had ſince ſet the *French* at Variance with the *Lombards*, who became too powerful in *Italy*. In fine, after having deſtroyed the Authority of the Emperors of the Eaſt by the Forces of the *Lombards*; and the Monarchy of theſe laſt, by the invincible Arms of the *French*; they have been ſeen afterwards to uſe divers Pretences to withdraw themſelves from their lawful Authority, and to give themſelves no Reſt till they had obliged them to go out of *Italy*, and to repaſs the Mountains.

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